/512 cont./

The region is entirely covered by equatorial forest which the inhabitants clear for their crops, practicing a shifting agriculture on burned-over land.

Life is closely tied to the river, on the edge of which are established villages and crops. They scarcely move except by water. Everybody, man, woman, or child, has his pirogue, and the children learn to paddle at the same time that they learn to walk.

The principal activities of the two populations are agriculture, fishing, and canoeing.

There is scarcely any difference between the dietary resources of the Indians and the Boni. The principal portion is manioc, eaten in the form of cassave (flat cakes cooked on a plate) or of couac (roasted and granulated flour). Then come tubers, yams, dasheens, "Carib cabbage" /taro/ and sweet potatoes, bananas and plantains. The Boni in addition plant mountain rice, from which the yield is small; in return, they eat fewer bananas.

The protein ration is furnished essentially by fish, eaten fresh or smoked. The Indians, skillful fishermen, never lack them. Game furnishes a less regular, but important resource.

Animal husbandry, confined to a few chickens raised mainly to sell, represents only an insignificant part of the diet.

The fat from fish and from animals killed while hunting constitutes the principal portion of lipides. The Boni use in addition, for preparing their meals, a small quantity of maripa palm oil.

Vitamins come from fruit (papaya, pineapple, mangoes), which the Indians eat in greater abundance than the Blacks, from wild spinach, rich in Vitamin A, and palm nuts (awara and coumou), eaten in great abundance during the rainy season.

Neither of the two populations is undernourished. The Indians might have been so temporarily during epidemics, when the adults, having been sick for a long time, were unable to clear sufficient land. But they can supplement an inadequate harvest with a great variety of wild foods that can be gathered.

The diet seems poor in mineral elements and especially in calcium. Traces of rachitis are noticeable among some of the Indian children.

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[For information on various types of buildings and other physical structures or facilities present in each of the Boni villages, see the village plans on pp. 66, 68, 70, 72, 74, and 76, category 116. Included are data on the occurrence of menstrual huts (mems), kitchens, granaries, and sundry other outbuildings, religious structures (gadu), mortuary sheds, boatbuilding yards, guest houses for visitors, wharfs, fragu tiki (i.e. lineage ancestor cult shrines and objects), and useful trees within the village area which are personally owned.]

/182/

Territorial Implantation of Lineages

423 613 311 As we have shown, the Refugee Blacks are caught between contradictory imperatives:

--Their legal thought, centered on joint possession by the lineage, pushes them to distribute land among the lineages in compact blocs;

[182] [241] --The geographic environment, and most especially the ravages of the manioc ant, obliges them to give to each individual the possibility of abruptly changing his territorial sector or to hasten the planned rhythm of his fallow fields.

The solution which has imposed itself has been to divide the lands of each lineage into a certain number of zones scattered on the two banks of the river. Instead of finding large blocks with a single holder, we are going to find sectors sometimes rather small. With that exception, the legal principles of the Refugee Blacks keep all their practical value.

621 504 613 423 [489] Each village possesses a certain number of landing places or *akpadu* /-wharfs/, from which fan out a certain number of paths. The wharf is the center of a territorial zone within which the members of the lineage fan out, pushing their clearings farther and farther, until they meet the clearings created by other lineages. At this moment a boundary is in effect created, at least in some points (1).

[194]

1. Among the Djuka it happens that a wharf may be common to two lineages and that the boundary may be marked by a big road perpendicular to the river and starting from the wharf; this system corresponds to a concern for establishing more precise boundaries between groups occupying land to the maximum. It is not observed anywhere in Boni country.

/SRS cont./

425 3) On the contrary, from the time that occupation of a region becomes habitual, even by groups of small numerical importance, people pay attention to the attribution of the lands. [34] [13] Thus it is assumed that the west bank of the Lawa south of the Aniaoi habitation up to Simayé Falls has belonged, since the end of the last century, to the Lapé lo, which was occupying it in 1897 by the Paako, Samo, Pwen, Saidai, and Bisséké habitations.

423 613 241 361 3) Within each zone the rights remain joint and anyone of the same lo may come to settle there. Thus the farming habitations move around, but within a definite sector. Thus for example Kwatu (Lapé) abandoned in 1954 his habitation situated in the lands of the Lapé lineage (it was too damp in the rainy season. he prefers to commune himself with the lands of the "great village"). He does not lose his rights because of this. If he decides eventually to come back, he will settle anywhere in the zone attributed to the Lapé lo.

182 161 241 361 425 It goes without saying that if the population were more dense, such a principle would be difficult to apply and that serious disputes would arise. But this mode of occupation of the soil is perfectly suitable, in their present situation, for the tribes of the Saluyen Bloc, for it allows them to practice, with a minimum of friction, the semi-nomadism which the geographical environment and especially the marshy soil imposes.

241 361 423 The zones occupied by the farming habitations rarely have a single holder: most often they are divided into separate sectors on different parts of the river.

806 613 361 425 Actually, as we have seen around the "great villages," each lineage possesses a certain number of "**alegas**," or landing places, from which paths radiate. Each "**alega**" is rigorously reserve, for the members of a lineage. The occupants of a farming village retreat from around their landing place until they

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613 meet the clearings of the people of another lineage; a de facto
423 boundary is thus created, which is henceforth respected.

621 On the other hand, several farming villages of one lineage
241 may have their clearings totally intriqués /entangled/ (this is
613 the case, for example, with the ones of the Antonu and Adiiso
423 habitations). This conforms to the rule of joint possession of the land within the lineage.

621 Organization. The group in a farming habitation is brought to-
241 gether by mutual affinities, and has no hierarchy other than that
609 which springs from kinship ties: authority of the mother over her
572 daughters; authority of the "uncles" over the "nephews."
/103/ The grouping which conforms most to the matrilineal structure of the Refugee Blacks is made up of an old woman, her unmarried sons, her daughters and her daughters' daughters, their husbands coming to help at the time of the clearings but not belonging to the group. Often it is this old woman who directs the habitation, but often also it is an old uncle, her classificatory brother, who has worked with her for a long time. Sometimes this old woman has come to live with her daughters on the habitation founded by her husband.

103 Some of the habitations bear men's names, others women's
923 names. The name which prevails may be completely at variance
572 with the real rights exercised over the land (Ex.: name of Adiiso given to the habitation of his wife where Adiiso has no right at
[613] all). That has no great importance in the eyes of the Refugee Blacks, the only important thing being collective possession of the land by the lineage.

621 For groups which are relatively numerous and brought to-
241 gether more by mutual affinities than by kinship ties, the mini-
622 mum of authority necessary for good feeling and the organization of the work is brought to bear by the founder. For example,

6:Hurault--158 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

/facing p. 108/

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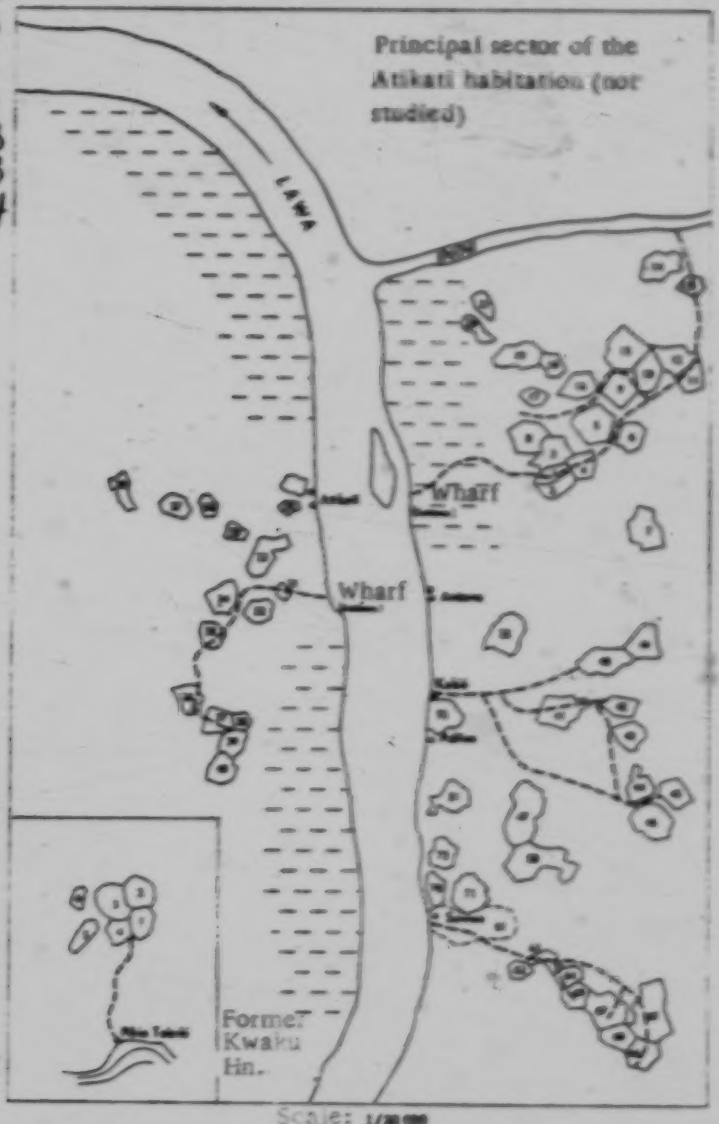
Distribution of Lands among the Lineages
in the Neighborhood of the Confluence with the Inini



Scale: 1/20 000

After photographs by the 003/200 IGN mission, taken in October, 1956

• farming habitation

floodable zone ○ clearings studied in January, 1957

Fig. 18.

Gilliéron--296 K-5 (1949-1950) 1961 SSR Folk Negroes 578
Boni

/157 cont./

[589] [589] A woman who has not been divorced does not remarry immediately. Several months, sometimes a year or more, may go by between two unions, a period during which she thinks only of "living it up," indulging in all the adventures she wishes. This attitude is considered normal, and the elders have nothing to say to her provided that she does not fall into pikadu, or cause any scandal, and that the period does not last too long.

[586] We have cited the example of Agube, a pretty girl of 18, who at the end of 1957 had just broken with her husband Faifiki /sic/ after only one year of living together. She was living with Lenga who brought her up; she was cutting a small clearing herself. Beyond that, she had no other concern but to indulge in all the adventures she liked. Men used to come to solicit [836] her favors discreetly, each one reserving his day. From one she would ask for a camisa, from another, soap, kerosene, etc.

[429] Her guardian Lenga used to press her to take another husband, but she could not forbid her to live thus, having given with the pilegi her freedom as a woman.

[587] She contracted a new marriage in May or June, 1958 after leading an irregular life for more than six months.

836 As a matter of fact, things go on with great discretion. A man is notified in secret by his sister or /female/ cousin that such-and-such a woman noticed him during a dance, that she will await him at her home on such-and-such a night. At night on the river, one perceives boats which pass close to the shore, [504] advancing silently. In each village there are secondary landings which allow nocturnal visitors to arrive at night without being noticed and to leave again before dawn. /158/

[584] If a woman lacks this discretion and if her life is openly dissolute, her mother will beat her and the head of the lineage will inflict punishments on her, but she will not be sent away; in no case can anyone be expelled from his natal village.

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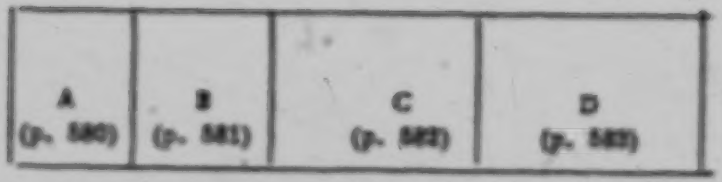

Chart of Positions of End Plate /facing p. 580/

S-Hawaii--500 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 582 Bush Negroes 582
Boni

DIVISION OF LANDS AMONG THE LINEAGES IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD OF THE PRINCIPAL BONI VILLAGES

Photographic montage made with the help of photographs of Field Trip 007/200 IGN Guiana
Scale: 1/20 000 Taken in October, 1956

[End Plate - A]

Scale 1:

End Plate - B

Gilmanton--502 . K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 588 Bush Negroes 588
Boni

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Scale 1:20000

[End Plate-C]

Suriname--SB K-5 (1948-1960) 1961 588 Bush Negroes 588
Boni

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- Agodé Permanent village
- clearings
- floodable zone
- boundaries not known
- farming habitation
- aldrad (wharf)
- path
- approximate boundaries of agricultural land

[End Plate - D]